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FOCUS

10th ANNIVERSARY

The Black Vote 1982
What Happened to the Bradley Campaign?
Conference Report 2: Blacks, Demographic Change, and Public Policy



Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

The combined November-December 1982 issue of *Focus* marks the tenth anniversary of the Joint Center's journal. Appropriately, this issue covers the 1982 elections, which in many ways embody the political concerns of the center over the past decade. Our authors look at both the racial problems blacks continue to face in the political arena and the increased sophistication of black voters and politicians in dealing with those problems.

The Joint Center was created to support the aspirations of the black community for total participation in the American political system, through programs tailored to fit the tenor of the times and the position in which blacks find themselves. When elected officials needed technical assistance and training, the Joint Center provided it. Low black voter turnout led us to build a national coalition on black voter participation. Increased interest among scholars, journalists, and government officials in information about blacks in the political process encouraged us to broaden our approach.

In 1976, I said that blacks had to become "full partners in the nation's policy-making franchise," and lately we have refashioned our agenda to respond more directly to that need. We have become something closer to a traditional "think tank" and now consider ourselves primarily a research institution, which can identify, analyze, and bring new insights to national policies.

This new agenda has strong roots in our earlier programs. Past issues of *Focus* show how many questions we addressed in years gone by are still—or perhaps again—of urgent concern to blacks.

The second issue of *Focus*, back in December 1972, included some guidelines for minorities on "revenue sharing"—one earlier incarnation of the "new" federalism.

In February 1973, an article on federal budget cuts reported, "The budget also supports the administration's goals of shifting responsibility for domestic programs to state and local governments and for restructuring the federal agencies." That same year, the issues of a subminimum wage for teenagers, at-large elections, and housing "allowances"—which sound a lot like vouchers—were all discussed.

The burden of high energy costs on the poor, the revitalization of cities, blacks and the military—these subjects and others show up over and over again in the pages of *Focus*. Many of these subjects will continue to be of concern in the years ahead.

But two other issues now demand our attention. One is the proper role of government in a democratic society. The balance between public and private interests, between federal and state authority, between government protection and government interference are all of distinct importance to blacks as well as to the nation at large.

The other issue is closely related—it is the question of leadership. Where will leadership come from, particularly in our own community, in the years ahead? What individuals and institutions will we turn to for knowledge, commitment, and courage in our search for a just society?

We all agree that the days when a single individual or a small group of individuals could speak for the black community are long gone. And yet we must have leaders who can help bring coherence and unity to our cause. Leadership is essential to sorting out our own priorities and to gaining support for our objectives.

There is nothing new about the problems of governance or leadership, and *Focus* has discussed them often over the past decade. But as I look toward the end of the eighties and beyond, I am convinced that the Joint Center can fulfill its mandate best by addressing not only current and future issues of public policy, but some of the fundamental questions at the heart of all political systems. *Focus* will play an important role in this endeavor.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Black Gains Offset Losses in '82 Elections

by Thomas Cavanagh

(Mr. Cavanagh is a research associate at the Joint Center.)

The black community is viewing the outcome of the 1982 elections with a mixture of satisfaction and disappointment. Tom Bradley's attempt to become the nation's first elected black governor ended in a breathtakingly narrow defeat—in a year of extremely close votes—as did Robert Clark's race for a congressional seat in the Mississippi Delta. Nonetheless, the year was marked by several important advances in black political fortunes.

There will be 21 black members of the new House of Representatives, an all-time high. There was a net gain of 17 black state legislators, to yield a total of 337, another record. Several blacks were elected or reelected to prominent statewide offices. Black voters provided the margin of victory in several key statewide and congressional races. And perhaps most promising for the future, black turnout appears to have increased substantially over the level recorded in the last midterm election in 1978.

Across the country, the black surge to the polls was overwhelmingly Democratic. The November election was widely perceived in the black community as a referendum on the Reagan administration's policies, and the verdict was a resounding "no." In New York and Texas—two of the country's three largest states—the black vote was crucial to the outcome of the gubernatorial race, while blacks nearly put Democrats in the governor's mansion in California and Illinois as well. The dramatic black impact in these major states left some Republican strategists nervously pondering their prospects for assembling an Electoral College majority in 1984.

Victory and Near-Victory in Congress

Four black freshmen will be entering the House of Representatives in January, the largest number since 1970. All four are Democrats and appear to hold relatively safe seats, having won by margins ranging from comfortable to enormous. In Kansas City, black State Representative Alan Wheat won a surprisingly large 59 percent of the vote against liberal Republican John Sharp, who enjoyed significant local labor support. Sharp employed the slogan "a candidate for all of the people," which bears a striking resemblance to the California newspaper ads encouraging a vote for Deukmejian "because we need a governor for all of California."

Black State Senator Katie Hall was elected to fill the seat vacated by the death of Congressman Adam Benjamin in Indiana's 1st Congressional District (Gary). She won 57.2 percent of the vote in this traditionally Democratic district. The districts served by Wheat and Hall have the lowest black population proportions (23 and 24 percent, respectively) of any districts served by black members of the House.

The two other black newcomers to Congress won hands down. Deputy Borough President Edolphus Towns picked up 82.7 percent in New York's 11th Congressional District (North Brooklyn), while New York State Senator Major Owens rolled up a 13-to-1 margin over Republican David Katan in the neighboring 12th district. Owens will be replacing Shirley Chisholm, who is retiring after seven terms.

The other 17 black incumbents will all be returning. All enjoyed overwhelming support, except Ron Dellums (D-CA), who ended up with 56 percent of the vote after leading by only 2 percentage points in a mid-October Republican poll. Even William Clay (D-North St. Louis), whose seat appeared to be in jeopardy from redistricting earlier this year, finished with a commanding two-to-one margin over three-time opponent William White.

These victories, however, were overshadowed in media coverage by the outcome in the most dramatic black congressional campaign of the year: Robert Clark's attempt to become the first black congressman from Mississippi since Reconstruction. Clark's bid was endorsed by the entire Democratic organization in Mississippi, which feared the consequences of black defections in the hard-fought reelection bids of Senator John Stennis and Congressman Wayne Dowdy in the 4th Congressional District (Jackson). Clark was also embraced by the district's two leading newspapers.

These expressions of support proved insufficient to stem the tide of rural whites who apparently chose to vote race rather than party. Ticket-splitting was rampant in the district's white-majority counties, which cast 60.0 percent of their votes for Stennis but only 40.3 percent for Clark. The effects of a black registration and get-out-the-vote effort were not strong enough to overcome white coolness to the black Democrat. In comparison to the 1978 Senate race, the number of votes cast increased fully 25.0 percent in the black-majority counties; but the total vote also went up by 13.3 percent in the white-majority counties.

Money may have been one factor impeding Clark's campaign. The Mississippi Delta is one of the poorest regions of the country, making it difficult to raise campaign funds from local sources. Most of the business community was backing Republican Webb Franklin, who also received significant financial support from out-of-state political action committees and Republican party sources. And in this rural, sparsely populated area, locating and registering potential black voters was not simple.

Black voters were more successful at helping to dislodge several Republican congressmen in the South. Albert Lee Smith of Alabama, Eugene Johnston of North Carolina, John Napier of South Carolina, and Robert Daniel of Virginia were all narrowly defeated in districts where blacks comprise 20 percent or more of the population. All four were Reaganite Republicans who rarely sided with minority interests in their roll call votes, and all four felt the wrath of their constituents as a result. In Napier's district, for example, an exit poll conducted by WPDE-TV of Florence, S.C. found blacks going Democratic by a margin of 97 to 3 percent.

The black vote undoubtedly provided the crucial margin for at least two southern Democratic incumbents in tight races: Mississippi's Wayne Dowdy and North Carolina's Ike Andrews. The latter surprised many observers by surviving a drunken driving arrest and a concerted negative campaign by

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Jesse Helms' Congressional Club. Perhaps the most remarkable sign of the new southern politics was in Alabama, where one-time segregationist George Wallace rolled up a four-to-one majority in the black community in his gubernatorial victory against Republican Mayor Emory Folmar of Montgomery.

The possibility that a populist coalition of blacks and blue-collar whites could halt Republican inroads in the South is clearly worrying G.O.P. strategists. As Republican pollster Lance Tarrance commented to the *New York Times,* "If the Republican Party doesn't solve the black turnout problem, advances in the South will not only be limited. They may be halted."

Sending a Message

The South was not the only region where black voters displayed new muscle at the polls. In several nationally prominent statewide races, the black vote was a decisive factor in the outcome. According to the CBS-*New York Times* exit poll, supply-side Republican Lew Lehrman carried the white vote by 52 to 44 percent in the New York gubernatorial race. But 85 percent of blacks and 75 percent of Hispanics voted for Democrat Mario Cuomo, who won the election by the narrow margin of 51 to 48 percent.

The CBS-*New York Times* surveys found similar results in other states. Texas Governor Bill Clements led by 11 points among whites, but lost his reelection bid with 80 percent of black voters backing Democrat Mark White. Frank Lautenberg's narrow 64,000-vote edge over Republican Millicent Fenwick in New Jersey's Senate race can be ascribed to many factors, including Lautenberg's computer fortune and his backing by women's organizations, but his 73 percent level of support among blacks certainly did not hurt.

Nationwide, blacks once again stood out as the single most Democratic constituency in the American electorate. Over the past year, Reagan's job approval ratings among blacks have been some of the most negative (roughly 10-to-1 disapproval) in the history of public opinion polling.

The vehemence of black opposition to the Reagan administration was reflected in the widespread tendency to vote for straight Democratic tickets. Prominent liberal Republicans who have enjoyed substantial black support in the past found that support withering on election day. Pennsylvania Governor Richard Thornburgh, who won over half of the black vote in his 1978 race against busing-opponent Pete Flaherty, picked up only 18 percent of the vote in the 17 Philadelphia wards that are 95 percent or more black. Even Lowell Weicker of Connecticut, who has commanded widespread respect from the black community for his work in defending busing and housing desegregation on the floor of the Senate, received only about a quarter of the vote in the black wards of Hartford and New Haven.

The most dramatic surge of black Democrats to the polls occurred in Chicago, where over 100,000 new black voters reportedly were added to the rolls in a single day as part of a campaign called "Come alive on October 5." The *Chicago Tribune* called the black turnout "historic" in an editorial post mortem. The city overall cast 144,000 more votes than in 1978, unexpectedly turning Republican Governor James Thompson's reelection bid against former Senator Adlai Stevenson III into a squeaker. So many voters showed up in the black South Side wards that many polling places ran out of ballots and had to be held open an extra two hours.

The rallying cry in Chicago was "Punch 10," the local slogan for voting a straight Democratic ticket on the city's punch-card ballots. Thompson, who pulled one-third of the black vote four years ago, was held to 18 percent in this year's CBS-*New York Times* exit poll.

Mayoral politics had much to do with the turnout jump. Cook County Democratic boss Ed Vrdolyak wanted to increase his bargaining leverage by delivering a big vote this fall. In addition, black Congressman Harold Washington had announced several months ago that he might run for mayor if at least 50,000 blacks were added to the registration lists. Shortly after the election, he declared his candidacy. With the white ethnic vote split between incumbent Jane Byrne and State's Attorney Richard Daley, Jr., and Alderman Roman Pucinski likely to draw off the Polish vote if he enters the race, many observers feel that Washington might be able to win the February 22 Democratic primary.

The much-ballyhooed attempt to resuscitate black Republicanism met with scant success on November 2. Of the 14 black Republicans running for the House, only one (William White in St. Louis) pulled as much as one-third of the vote. Nationally publicized ex-Democrat Lucy Patterson finished with only 26.5 percent of the vote in the Texas 24th Congressional District (South Dallas). She has asserted that her campaign was "sabotaged" by the National Republican Congressional Committee after party strategists concluded that the contest could not be won and began diverting promised financial resources to other candidates.

The Democratic tide also swamped the hopes of Virgil Brown, an experienced black Republican running for secretary of state of Ohio. But Brown ran well ahead of the Republican gubernatorial and senatorial candidates. He picked up about half of the normally Democratic vote in the heavily black section of Cleveland lying east of the Cuyahoga River, suggesting that his race led to some ticket-splitting, in contrast to the straight Democratic ticket-voting of many blacks elsewhere.

Black Republicanism was even less successful at the state legislative level. In a cooperative project, the Joint Center and United Press International compiled the election results for black candidates in such races, making possible a tally within days of the election. Of the 287 blacks elected to state legislatures in November, only 3 were Republicans, despite the presence of 71 Republican candidates nationwide.

Building for the Future

The results overall bode well for the future of blacks in elective office. For example, blacks should be especially heartened by the gains registered in state legislative races this fall. One of Bill Brock's

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What Happened to the Bradley Campaign?

by Thomas F. Pettigrew and Denise A. Alston

(Dr. Pettigrew is professor of social psychology at Stevenson College, University of California, Santa Cruz. Ms. Alston is an advanced doctoral student in social psychology at Stevenson. The authors are preparing a full-scale analysis of the Bradley campaign of 1982 for the Joint Center.)

History seemed to be in the making. The son of a Texas sharecropper had reached the brink of becoming the nation's first black American to be elected governor. Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley had won California's Democratic party gubernatorial nomination handily (see *Focus,* May and July 1982). He led his Republican opponent, state Attorney General George Deukmejian, in every major published survey conducted on the contest. At the beginning of election night, the media even announced Bradley the winner because of his comfortable lead in exit interviews of voters conducted by the California Poll throughout the state. Yet the Los Angeles mayor went down to defeat by the closest proportional margin in the history of California's gubernatorial races—49.35 percent to 48.65 percent, 53,000 votes out of 7.7 million cast.

What happened? Undoubtedly, many factors are involved. Some are technical problems of the surveys; some are political; and some are racial. A thorough discussion must await further analysis, but here we present some preliminary considerations.

Technical Survey Problems

The table below reveals Bradley's consistent survey leads over Deukmejian in Mervin Field's respected California Poll during the last 15 months. Other state polls obtained similar results. While his lead narrowed at the June primary and final elections, the mayor still went into election day with a measured 7 percent advantage.

A late Republican surge comparable to the national Democratic surge in 1948, rolling in after the last survey had been completed, is not a viable explanation for the inaccuracy of this final reading. The exit interviews on election day itself indicated a similar Bradley lead. Moreover, the same preelection survey had Governor Edmund ("Jerry") Brown, Jr., trailing his Republican opponent, San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, by 5 percent in the Senate race—and he lost by 6 percent. And all other Democratic candidates for statewide office—from lieutenant governor to treasurer—won as easily as the final survey predicted.

Bradley vs. Deukmejian: August 1981 to November 1982

	Bradley	Deukmejian	Undecided and Other Candidates
November 2 election results	48.65%	49.35%	2%
November 2 exit interviews	Bradley well ahead (no percentages reported)		
October 29-31 survey	49	42	9
October 24-26 survey	47	41	12
October 1-4 survey	53	39	8
August survey	47	38	15
June 8 primary exit interviews	45	42	13
Early June survey	49	44	7
May survey	52	39	9
March survey	50	40	10
January 1982 survey	50	39	11
October 1981 survey	54	33	13
August survey	55	31	14

Source for survey and exit interview data: Field Institute.

The plot thickens when we note the inaccuracy of even the 5,000 exit interviews conducted by Field on election day itself. Such interviews are generally far more accurate than phone surveys, for two reasons. First, all interviews are conducted with known voters emerging from the voting booth. This eliminates a major source of error for preelection surveys: predicting who will vote. Second, exit interviews ask respondents to report on behavior they just performed rather than on how they *might* vote were the election held that day. Yet, even in the exit interview, the mayor's lead was large enough for the cautious and experienced Field to project a Bradley victory for his media subscribers.

Why were the surveys and exit studies so consistently wrong?

The first possibility is that a significant percentage of respondents misled their interviewers. They reported either being undecided or favoring Bradley, when they actually voted for Deukmejian. Other factors are more technical.

In pre-election surveys, as we mentioned, predicting turnout is always difficult. That large numbers of black voters would come to the polls was expected. But pollsters did not predict the unusually heavy turnouts in traditionally conservative areas (e.g., Orange County) and light turnouts in traditionally liberal areas in northern California.

The election day exit interviews were conducted in a probability sample of precincts, but apparently a sample not stratified by race. Field reported later an overrepresentation of minority precincts among those covered. This error would not have occurred in a racially stratified precinct sample, though it alone could not account for the mistaken projection.

Another preventable source of error involved differential nonresponse. Usually refusals of exit interviews are limited and pose no problem. But apparently conservatives leaving California's polls on November 2nd refused to be interviewed in considerable numbers and significantly more often than liberals. Field's projections apparently did not correct fully for this differential nonresponse.

Political Factors

Mention of differential turnout introduces other political considerations. Deukmejian is a mild-mannered conservative, not a member of his party's far-right wing. He seemed "safe" to voters and, like Bradley himself, represented a welcome break from the succession of flamboyant governors many Californian voters no longer trust. A more extreme

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right-wing opponent who frightened moderates and liberals would have aided Bradley's cause.

Moreover, the last of the flamboyant governors, Jerry Brown, headed the Democratic party ticket. Brown ran an indifferent, lackluster campaign and obtained only 45 percent of the senatorial vote. Deukmejian linked Bradley with the unpopular governor throughout the campaign. The full effect of this drag on the ticket is difficult to estimate. But with at least a half-million Democrats and most independents not voting for Brown, the damage to Bradley must have been considerably greater than the 27,000 more votes needed for victory.

While Deukmejian's blandness appears not to have hurt him among conservatives, Bradley's cautious style undoubtedly dampened liberal enthusiasm, which may help to explain the low turnouts in northern California. Even Willie Brown, the black Speaker of the State Assembly, although he supported Bradley, described both gubernatorial candidates as "uninteresting."

Herein lies a dilemma for black candidates who need strong white support. An unthreatening demeanor is essential if the black candidate is to appeal to "moderate" white voters. But this same demeanor often lacks the charismatic appeal required to ignite that part of the white electorate most likely to favor a black American's candidacy—the liberals.

Another political consideration is the three controversial state propositions that appeared on the November 2 ballot: a required deposit on beverage containers (Proposition #11), a nuclear weapons freeze (#12), and handgun controls (#15). All three were positively worded in the liberal direction. Only the freeze proposition carried (52 percent to 48 percent); the handgun proposition was resoundingly rejected, 63 percent to 37 percent, with lopsided totals against it registered in conservative precincts with large turnouts.

Many media analysts, searching for an explanation for Bradley's defeat, seized on the handgun vote. This proposition, they argued, brought out the far-right electorate in opposition, and once in the booth, members voted solidly for the Republican ticket. This ostensibly nonracial turnout explanation is now widely accepted.

But there are problems with this comfortable reasoning. Why did the political left not come out in equally large numbers to vote *for* gun control and the nuclear weapons freeze? Even if there were a special incentive for pro-gun voters, why didn't their differential turnout affect the entire Democratic ticket instead of just Bradley? Moreover, the same final preelection California Poll that had Bradley up by 7 percent also showed correctly that the handgun proposition was going to be overwhelmingly defeated.

Even if the gun-control turnout argument is correct, it does not rule out the importance of race. Far-right voters may well have been drawn to the polls to vote against *both* gun control *and* a black American governor. The two issues together may have attracted people who do not generally cast ballots in nonpresidential elections.

The Race Factor

Black candidates in general fared badly in the California election. Dr. Wilson Riles, for a dozen years the state superintendent of public instruction, lost in a nonpartisan contest to a conservative lawyer by a 56 to 44 percent margin. Republicans James Flournoy and Donald French were easily beaten by Democratic incumbents in their contests for state controller and state treasurer. Only Allen Broussard broke the pattern; he was easily confirmed as a member of the state's supreme court. But all four of these results were foreseen by the same surveys that showed Bradley leading. So we return to the question of a special race factor in the gubernatorial election.

Almost any factor can be called decisive when a political contest is lost by seven-tenths of one percent. In this trivial sense, race was clearly a deciding factor in Bradley's defeat.

But what percentage of California's voters *would* have voted for the Democratic party nominee for governor had the nominee been Caucasian (or "Anglo," in California parlance)? We believe that two crude methods, using survey data and voting data, yield a plausible minimum estimate of about 5 percent. The survey estimation begins with the 4 percent of voters who told Field exit pollers that they had voted for Deukmejian because they did not want a black American governor. Let's assume conservatively that an equal number of voters, 4 percent, voted for Deukmejian largely for racial reasons but did not admit it. From this 8 percent anti-black vote, we subtract the pro-black vote—voters, both black and white, who supported Bradley because they wanted to see a black American become governor but otherwise would have voted Republican, or not at all. Estimating generously, let's put this pro-black vote at 3 percent. By these calculations, we obtain an overall anti-Bradley 5 percent race effect.

A similar result emerges when we compare Bradley's vote with that of the Democratic party candidate for state office who ran next poorest, the controversial liberal Leo McCarthy. McCarthy won for lieutenant governor over the conservative Republican Carol Hallett, by 52 to 44 percent. If Bradley had received the same proportion of the total vote McCarthy did, he would have gotten 364,000 votes more than he did. In short, our minimum estimate of the race effect translates into a decisive Bradley victory margin of over two-thirds of a million votes had he been white.

This estimated race effect helps to explain many of the unusual phenomena that characterized this contest: the consistent overestimation of Bradley's support by all the available state polls over a 15-month period; the heavy turnout of conservative white voters (just as in Cleveland, Gary, Newark, and other cities the first time a black candidate ran for mayor); and the special force of this conservative turnout against Bradley but not the rest of the Democratic candidates for state offices.

The Fall-Out from Bradley's Defeat

Bishop H. H. Brookins, Bradley's political mentor and his pastor at the First A.M.E. Church, said suc-

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Joint Center
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Political Studies

JCPS Conference Report

Number 2, November 1982

Blacks, Demographic Change, and Public Policy

America is famous for the mobility of its population. An individual's mobility depends on his or her level of education, economic position, and age and family status. These factors are, of course, intricately related: quality of schools depends, in part, on the economic status of the communities that support them; the type and quantity of job opportunities available depend on the job seeker's location; family size and financial condition are closely tied; and so on.

For blacks in America, the race factor adds another dimension to this already complicated picture. Discrimination and segregation created the current demographic patterns and persist in many forms, some more subtle than others. The Joint Center convened its conference on *Blacks, Demographic Change, and Public Policy* to examine the policy issues raised by current black demographic trends. In all the areas on which the conference focused—housing, jobs, education, and politics—the black and white populations show significant differences (see the graph below). The causes for these differences are numerous and complex, but that is no excuse for ignoring these differences in setting public policies.

On September 16 and 17, in Washington, D.C., the Joint Center for Political Studies sponsored a conference on Blacks, Demographic Change, and Public Policy. *The conference was the culmination of a JCPS project on recent black demographic trends. This second* Conference Report *was prepared by William P. O'Hare, senior research associate, and Roy Chatterjee, staff analyst, of the Joint Center. The conference was supported by grants from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation. Proceedings of the conference will be published in the spring of 1983.*

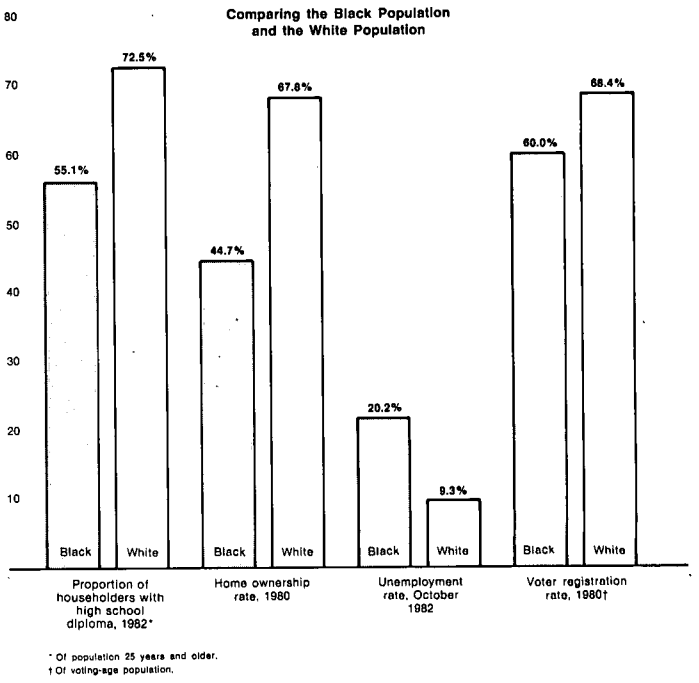
The Demographic Profile of Black America

The Joint Center's research explored several major demographic trends among blacks during the 1970s.

First, the long trend of black migration to the North has ended. During the 1970s, more blacks moved into the South than out of the South. Most blacks moving to the South apparently went to metropolitan areas. The extensive economic growth occurring in the nonmetropolitan South tended to be in nonblack areas. Thus, the recent reversal in black migration patterns may not be linked to the widely noted economic growth in the nonmetropolitan South.

Second, between 1970 and 1980, the suburban black population for the first time grew more than the central-city black population. At the same time, however, whites were still leaving central cities at a faster rate than blacks, and central cities were therefore becoming increasingly black.

Black suburbanization apparently does not signify racial



"Housing policies created a very strong incentive for white suburbanization under extremely favorable conditions, contributed in a major way to the institutionalization of black residential segregation, and are now producing central-city ghettos and barrios *and separate and unequal suburbanization. Obviously, there is a need for searching reconsideration of existing and proposed housing policies."*

—Gary Orfield

integration; nor does it imply extensive upward mobility among all black suburbanites. Rather, it is the result of deteriorating central cities coupled with an expansion of black neighborhoods into certain inner suburbs. These suburban areas are largely "spillover" communities adjacent to the central city—many of which are declining in ways similar to central cities. Most of the suburbs to which blacks have been moving are, in fact, going through a transition from white to black. The ultimate result is again segregated communities with relatively low tax bases and declining infrastructures.

Nonetheless, the blacks moving to the suburbs were generally better off than those who remained in the central cities. The black population has thus become increasingly stratified, both economically and spatially. The low-income black population in the large old central cities of the nation is becoming more and more isolated.

The national figures on black suburbanization obscure the differences that are apparent in various metro areas. For example, the black suburban population in 43 SMSAs actually decreased between 1970 and 1980. During the course of the conference, many speakers pointed out such differences and warned against overgeneralization.

Professor Joe Darden, for example, has done extensive research on population change in Detroit. He has found that many of the Detroit suburbs to which blacks are moving are not, in fact, adjacent to the central city and thus are not a product of spillover. On the other hand, Dr. Darden found that segregation and economic decline do characterize these suburbs. Kathryn Nelson, economist from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, presented evidence that, in the aggregate, in medium-sized suburbs—where a large portion of black suburbanization is taking place—black income is increasing and poverty decreasing. Nevertheless, there was general agreement among participants that economic decline and segregation were all too common characteristics of black suburbs.

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Housing Policy

Professor Gary Orfield, of the University of Chicago, contrasted the conditions under which black suburbanization is now taking place with those under which white suburbanization occurred in earlier decades. In the 1950s, upwardly mobile whites benefited from highly subsidized mortgages, insurance guarantees, an expanding housing market, and generally low interest rates. The federal government's regulations particularly encouraged suburban growth. Today, as many blacks are seeking the same upward mobility, and when many businesses have moved out of the central cities, the government has severely cut back on housing assistance, and economic conditions have made long-term mortgages prohibitively expensive. Meanwhile, as Orfield made vividly clear, housing discrimination is by no means a thing of the past. Studies have shown heavy residential steering by realtors: almost without exception in certain suburbs, blacks were shown houses in all-black or integrated neighborhoods, while whites were shown homes only in all-white neighborhoods.

Cushing Dolbeare, president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, generally agreed with Orfield's analysis. She stressed the need for a more assertive federal policy in the civil rights and housing area, arguing that only firm governmental action will overcome resistance to integration.

On the other hand, John Weicher, resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, saw demographic trends among blacks as following the same patterns as those of ethnic groups that have successfully advanced up the economic ladder. The fact that black suburbanization is concentrated in the inner suburbs, according to Weicher, simply means that blacks are in the first stages of economic advancement. As they make further economic gains, he said, they will move further out.

Blacks and Jobs in Changing America

Dr. Herrington Bryce, president of the National Policy Institute, argued that black suburbanization does not imply a net increase in black employment because the majority of those moving to the suburbs already have jobs. On a larger scale, blacks are not generally migrating to the areas where most new job growth is taking place, and there seems to be a significant time lag between white and black movement to economically vibrant areas. In fact, blacks often seem to move to an area after it has experienced its employment peak.

In industries with traditionally high black employment, such as the automobile industry, employment is declining. Relatively few blacks hold jobs in the fields in which jobs are growing, and thus the increase in jobs is not helping the black employment picture. Therefore, Bryce stressed the need for massive job retraining programs and for assistance to blacks in moving to where the jobs are.

He placed particular emphasis on the need for a better information network concerning where new jobs are located, so that more informed decisions can be made by blacks. While a great deal can be learned about highly skilled jobs, there is almost no way to find information about the kinds of jobs that are most accessible to many in the black labor force.

Gerald Jaynes, associate professor of economics and Afro-American studies at Yale University, argued that racism and job discrimination were the primary reasons for whatever lag exists in the black response to job opportunities requiring relocation. Because of these factors, he thought encouraging local economic development was a better approach to finding jobs for blacks than encouraging migration.

Educational Opportunity

Dr. Gordon Johnson, an independent consultant, noted that in each age group, there has been an increase in black school enrollment over time. From 1940 to 1980, black educational attainment increased and racial differences in attainment decreased. However, blacks tend to still be in high school at an older age than whites, reflecting the continuing disadvantages of blacks in American society. Furthermore, blacks tend to be concentrated in schools of lower quality than predominantly white schools. Such disadvantages are reflected in the continuation of lower incomes, higher poverty rates, and higher unemployment among blacks than whites.

Dr. Reynolds Farley, professor of sociology at the University of Michigan, added evidence of lower economic returns on education for blacks than for whites, although the differences between blacks and whites have narrowed over time. Ronald Henderson, division chief of the Office of Program and Policy Review of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, called for policies focusing on the quality of education open to blacks rather than just on the number of blacks enrolled at various educational levels.

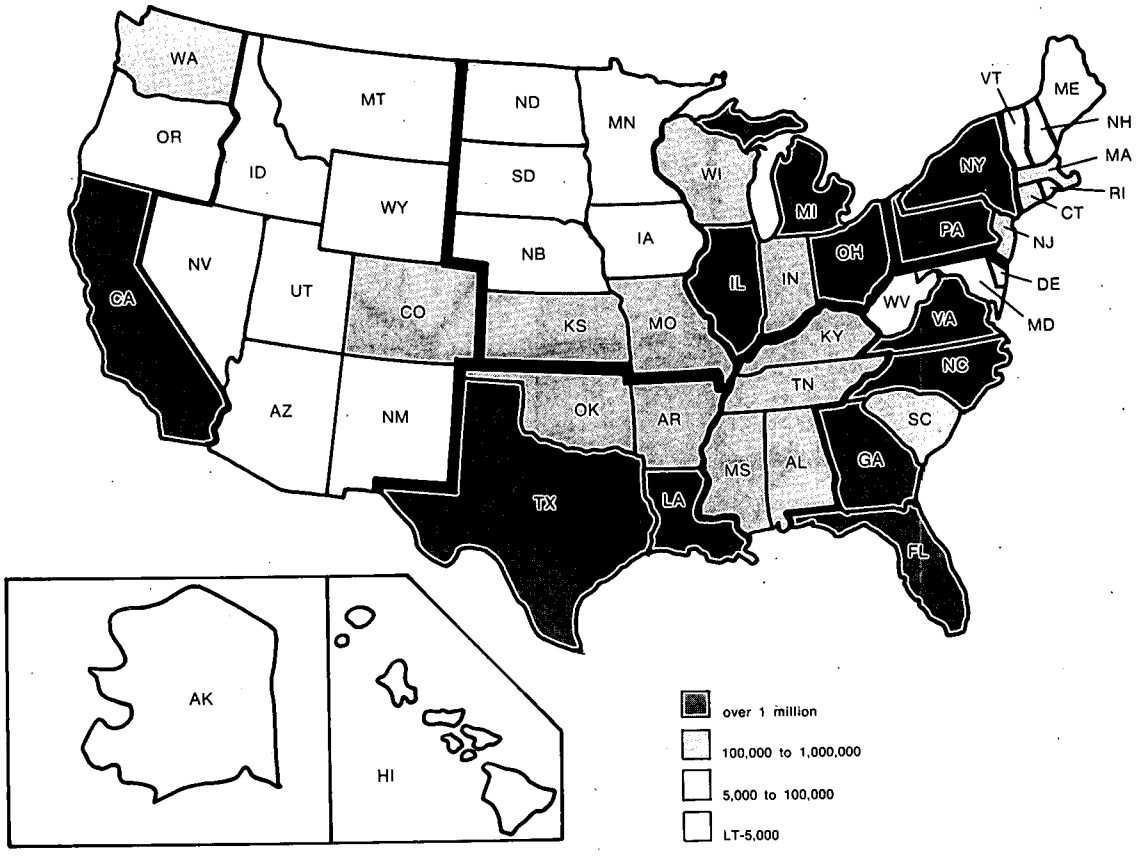
"Improving the employment opportunities for blacks will require more than their training and the upgrading of the central-city economies. It will require, as well, a spatial redistribution of the black population."

—Herrington Bryce

The Changing Black Political Landscape

The black political landscape was described by Dr. Joseph Stewart, professor of political science at Rice University, and Dr. Charles Bullock, professor of political science at the University of Georgia. They analyzed conditions under which blacks are elected—for example, the proportion of blacks in the voting-age population, support from white and other minority communities, and the level of office sought. Their main conclusions were, first, that blacks are most often elected to political office by majority black voting-age populations, and, second, that whites tend not to back a black candidate when his or her victory means blacks will gain control of an institution. For example, one black may be elected to a five-member school board, but a third black would face greater difficulties and election of a black commissioner would be highly unlikely. "Blacks are rarely elected to positions other than collective bodies . . . where power must be shared with others."

Distribution of U.S. Black Population, 1980



"The cities are in their present condition because of public policy decisions—some conscious and some negligent. Only when we elect officials who understand this will the problems of the cities begin to be solved."

—Maynard Jackson

Because of the limited numbers of cases where conditions are conducive to blacks winning office, coalitions with whites and other minorities (particularly Hispanics) around common interests may often be the best strategy.

This outlook was confirmed by Professor Leslie McLemore, chairman of the Department of Political Science at Jackson State University, and Mayor Ernest ("Dutch") Morial of New Orleans, who discussed the difficulty black political leaders have in addressing the concerns of minority citizens when the economic power is still held by the established white business community. Morial stressed that political compromise could not be avoided by black leaders.

Robert Holmes, professor of political science at Atlanta University, nevertheless believed that the black community is better represented by black officials than by whites, even when a white candidate owes success to a coalition including blacks. Once a white candidate is elected, he asked, how much priority will be given to black concerns? He suggested that the answer was "very little."

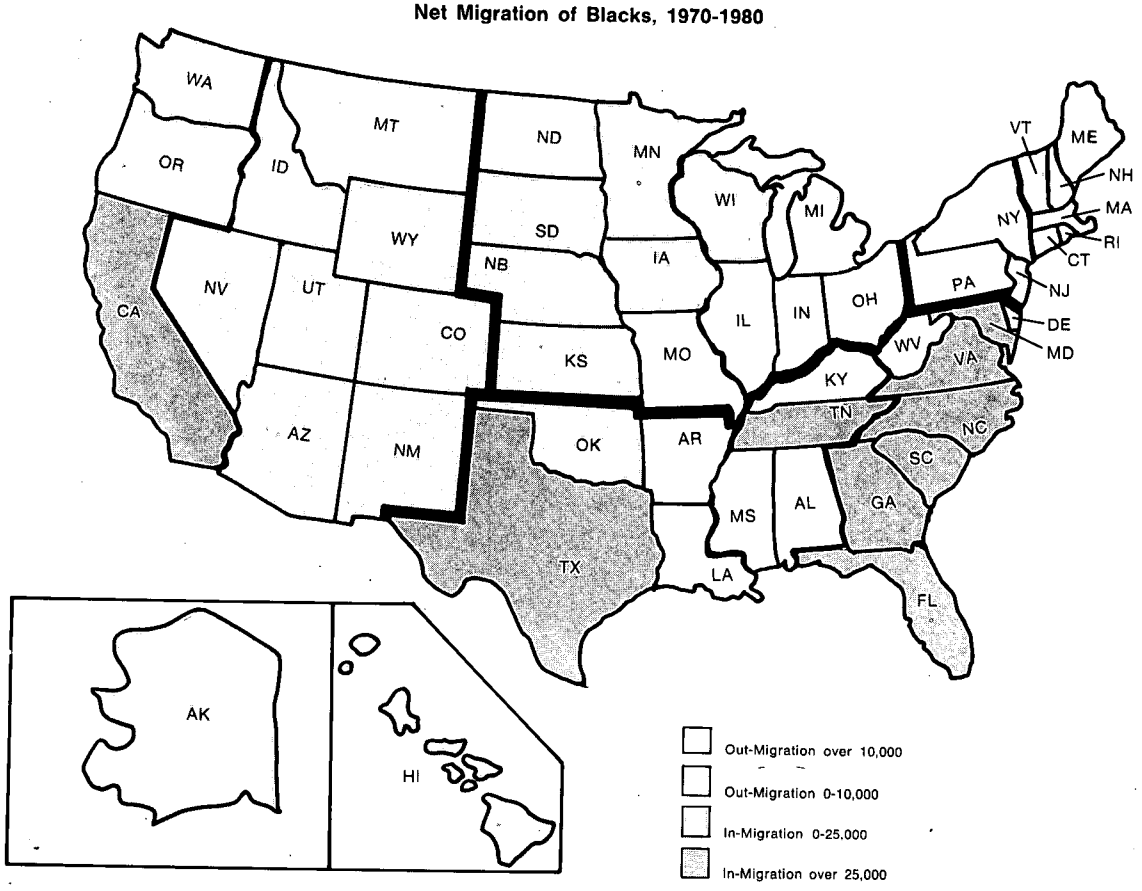
The Urban Underclass

A problem underlying all the others discussed at the conference was that of the heavily minority underclass concentrated in the cities. Although the notion of an underclass has emerged in the public consciousness only over the last few years, even the definition of such a class—let alone its size and characteristics—is not clear.

Richard Nathan, professor of public and international affairs at Princeton, laid out some of the steps that need to be taken in order to develop a clear picture of the underclass. Not only economic but also social and psychological factors would have to be examined, over a period of years as well as across a large population. If there is a distinct underclass that is different from the poor in general, policies to assist the underclass will have to address all the characteristics that set that class apart.

What *is* clear, said Maynard Jackson, former mayor of Atlanta, is that present policies are helping neither the underclass nor the poor in general. Mayor Jackson pointed to the deteriorating infrastructure of the cities, their declining tax base, and cutbacks in federal funding to the cities, all of which are leading to a crisis from which cities simply cannot extricate themselves.

Net Migration of Blacks, 1970-1980



Revitalizing All of America

by Walter E. Fauntroy

(The author is the District of Columbia delegate to the House of Representatives.)

Two major problems confront all America, but black America in particular. The first which the Reagan administration's economics fail to address and, in fact, exacerbates—is *the deterioration of our nation's industrial and manufacturing base.* This problem is of vital concern to blacks. Manufacturing, in addition to its obvious importance to any economy, has historically offered and continues to offer the greatest opportunities for unskilled or semi-skilled black and white workers to have well-paying jobs with possibilities for advancement.

As the Black Leadership Family Plan points out, "Industries in which blacks have made significant employment gains, like the steel and automobile industries, have been particularly hard hit by production declines. . . . Blacks have been struck cruel blows by economic stagnation at every economic level. In addition to the decreasing number of available jobs and other opportunities, economic stagnation has increased white backlash to any visible black economic gains."

At rock bottom, the problem with our economy is not that we spend too much money on food stamps for the hungry, medicaid for the sick-poor, or school aid for the young. Our basic problem is that over the past 10 to 15 years we have been experiencing a steady decline in economic performance, in manufacturing output, and in product design. We are producing insufficient quantities of poorly designed products at too high a price; so that not only does the world not buy what we make, but we don't buy what we make.

The consequences: rising unemployment, inadequate profits and investment, a falling dollar, and further worsening productivity and inflation. There will be no jobs or economic growth in this country until we target tax relief at sunrise businesses and industries where we can remain world competitive. We must get out of sunset businesses and industries that, for geo-social and economic reasons, operate more efficiently elsewhere in the world.

The second problem—which Reaganomics has also exacerbated—is *the urgent need of small businesses for outside capital* in order to get started, survive, and grow. Despite the thousands of new small businesses starting up each year, the business bankruptcy rate is at the highest level since the Great Depression. Black businesses have been especially hard hit.

Black businesses provide jobs in the black community. But even more important, small businesses are the greatest source of the new technologies and jobs that are the wave of the future. If blacks are to be in on that future, then black businesses must have more outside capital. And yet, the government is cutting SBA loans, cutting minority business set-asides, and, in general, reducing its responsiveness to the problems of small and minority businesses.

I want now to propose possible solutions to these two problems.

A United States Revitalization Bank

Turning first to the problem of our nation's deteriorating industrial base, I suggest that we need something like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which President Roosevelt used to deal with similar problems in the Great Depression. The major problem in our troubled industries lies in one simple fact: American factories are, on the average, 20 years old, compared with 12 in Germany and 10 in Japan.

I have sponsored a bill to create a United States Revitalization Bank. The bank would receive $5 billion in initial capital from Congress and would have authority to raise an additional $25 billion in private markets. It would make loans to assist businesses in modernizing or expanding and to assist local governments in renovating or replacing deteriorating capital facilities.

Now obviously, some firms have been so mismanaged that they deserve to go under, and many local governments can solve their problems on their own. But many otherwise well-managed businesses producing needed goods and services are threatened with ruin; many new firms, with promising prospects in high-technology fields, may never get off the ground; and many local governments face reduced tax revenues and increased spending on welfare and social services because of the recession. They will be facing insolvency through no fault of their own unless they are helped. In such cases, assistance provided by a Revitalization Bank could be critical to economic stability and recovery.

A Black Economic Development Fund

A possible solution to the problem of capital for black businesses is the establishment of a Black Development Fund. If black businesses are to have the outside capital they need, we black people are going to have to provide that venture capital ourselves out of the $150 billion that pass through our hands each year.

Like the Black Leadership Family Plan, such a fund would be based on individual donations by black Americans. If each black person contributed but $1.00 per month, the resulting $300 million could be leveraged to upward of $1.5 billion in investment capital each year. Such a fund could contribute significantly to the size and success of black businesses and black employment.

The problems of developing such a fund are formidable, and indeed, would not alone solve the problem of small and minority business capital formation. Tax laws, for example, would have to be changed, to provide these enterprises with the same access to capital that large companies have long enjoyed. But, if we join together with other people of reason and goodwill, we will begin to reverse the trend of official indifference now pervading our government and the sense of hopelessness now developing in the black community. Then we can bring about the programs that are so vitally needed to provide job opportunities to black people and to all Americans.

. . . The Black Vote 1982

(Continued from page 4)

most outstanding innovations as Republican national chairman was to use state legislative contests as a sort of farm system to groom party candidates for higher positions. The Republican track record in 1980 suggests the efficacy of this strategy.

As a result of the November elections, there was a net gain of 18 black legislators in the South and 6 in the Northeast, with net losses of 6 recorded in the Midwest and 1 in the West. The Midwest figure, it should be noted, represents the loss of 6 black seats in Illinois due to the shrinking in size of the lower house as a whole.

The most dramatic gains occurred in North Carolina, where the number of black state legislators increased from 4 to 12, for a net gain of 8. Other states registering sizable net gains include Florida (7), South Carolina (5), and Alabama and Pennsylvania, with 4 apiece. Georgia will continue to have more black state legislators, 23, than any other state. Much of the progress in the South is undoubtedly due to Justice Department screening of reapportionment plans covered under the preclearance provisions of the Voting Rights Act.

Another breakthrough in the South was the election of Oscar Adams as a state supreme court justice in Alabama. Adams, who was already serving on the court as the result on an interim appointment, became the first black ever elected to statewide office in Alabama. In addition, Clifton Johnson was elected to the state court of appeals in North Carolina.

Three other blacks were reelected to statewide office: Henry Parker as treasurer of Connecticut, Roland Burris as comptroller of Illinois, and Richard Austin as secretary of state of Michigan. Allen Broussard was confirmed by the California electorate as a supreme court justice, although Wilson Riles was defeated by Bill Honig for a fourth term as the state's superintendent of public instruction.

Unlike the gubernatorial campaign in California, where race was clearly a major factor, Riles' loss appears to have been due primarily to anti-incumbent sentiment engendered by the difficulties of the state's public school system.

An especially hopeful sign for the future was the success of nonpartisan black voter registration and education programs. Gracia Hillman, executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, said, "there was a commitment at the grassroots level to make increased black voter participation a reality, and it proved to be a very effective movement."

The increase in black turnout was part of an across-the-board jump in political interest. According to Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, overall turnout was about 41 percent this year, an increase of about 3 percent over the 1978 level. Blue-collar workers throughout the economically depressed Midwest were turning out in large numbers to express their displeasure with Reaganomics. The unusually large number of closely contested statewide and congressional races in the South also spurred voter participation in that region.

A Landslide Lost?

The Democratic gains of 26 House seats and 7 governorships might appear to suggest that black misgivings about Reagan's policies are widely shared, but the situation is in fact a good deal more ambiguous. The midterm results are the political equivalent of a hung jury. The exit polls revealed considerable unhappiness with the high level of unemployment. Congressional Republicans, sobered by narrow reelection wins, may be more responsive to jobs programs as a result. However, the voters tended to blame the current economic mess on the Carter administration and were unwilling to condemn Reagan's program as a failure.

By the standards of past elections during recessionary periods, Republican losses should have been more in the neighborhood of 40 House seats. The Republicans' technological edge, including the use of daily "tracking" polls and their ability to target campaign funds for last-minute media blitzes, probably enabled them to hold on to several House and Senate seats in close races. A shift of only 43,000 votes in five states would have cost the Republicans the five Senate seats needed for the Democrats to regain a majority of the Senate.

The voters' lack of conviction that the Democrats had any better answers than the Republicans was also evident in the elections. This seeming ambivalence toward both parties' programs has encouraged Democratic pollster Patrick Caddell to characterize the November results as a "missing election." He advises, "Instead of rejoicing over minimal gains, the Democrats should be pained over a landslide lost."

But the jump in turnout would seem to presage a more decisive outcome in the 1984 presidential race. If this year is any gauge, the potential for black impact on the results could be enormous. As the *New York Times* editorialized on November 12, "Insensitivity toward blacks is not only wrong but politically very expensive."

Bradley Campaign

(Continued from page 6)

cinctly: "The man was right, the time was right, democracy was on trial, and democracy flunked the test."

Assemblywoman Maxine Waters commented: "If any black man or woman was ever going to be governor it was Tom Bradley. You don't come better qualified. No one black satisfies the fears and suspicions of whites like he does. . . . He was the best of what a fair society could look for, and they rejected him."

Such expressions of disappointment have been heard widely in California. Yet we must recall that Bradley had led in the polls back in his first run for mayor of Los Angeles, only to lose by a close margin. He came back to win the mayor's office three consecutive times, won his party's gubernatorial nomination, and then came within less than 1 percent of winning the state's highest office in the midst of a conservative era. Thus, though Bradley's defeat represents a lost opportunity for both California and the nation, even his near-miss signifies the growing power and sophistication of black American politics.

JCPS in 1982

In July 1981, *Focus* reported on the Joint Center's plans to develop as a national public policy institution. Over the past year and a half, the center has put most of those plans into action.

Focus readers have learned the findings of many of our studies, conferences, and forums—findings that have aroused important discussions in the media and among policy makers in general. The first group of adjunct fellows has been named, and a Research Advisory Council has been established (see "Research Notes" in this issue of *Focus*). The work of the center's first two senior fellows, Roger Wilkins and Jake Dyels, is also familiar to *Focus* readers through their contributions to this newsletter.

The Joint Center is continuing to increase the scope and depth of its research. Having established a solid reputation in the area of politics and governance, the center will be exploring the political sphere in its wider sense: the relationships between individuals and the institutions of the society, the ways decisions are made by the society, and the values and attitudes on which the society acts.

Public Policy Studies

The attention of the country is now riveted on an unemployment rate of over 10 percent, but for the nation's non-white population, that is old news. The unemployment rate for blacks and other minorities has exceeded 10 percent since 1972. Today it is at a staggering 20.2 percent.

There is no question that the present economic stagnation is disproportionately affecting minorities. There is a large question as to whether any future upswings in the economy will benefit the nation's minority citizens. A major study under way at the center looks toward the future labor market—what the jobs will be, where they might be located, what education and skills might be needed, and how the black population will fit into the scenario. Other current studies examine the loss of U.S. industries' competitive advantage in the world market, the role of black businesses in creating economic gains in the black community, and the proposals for reindustrializing our urban areas.

Tied to this look toward future economic opportunities is the center's research on the demographics of the black population. This issue of *Focus* contains a *Conference Report* on one segment of this research project.

As the center's demographic research has shown, for a significant portion of the black community, the future is inextricably tied to the development of the cities. Over the years, the center has conducted many studies of urban policies. Current work includes an examination of the problems posed by the changing income structure of central cities and the appropriate private/public mix of resources and initiatives in generating balanced urban growth.

Associated with questions about economic and urban policies is the debate over immigration. The overwhelming majority of all immigrants—legal and illegal—settle in large cities, where, some analysts believe, they compete with the low-income population for jobs and housing. At a recent conference, cosponsored with the Johnson Foundation, the center examined the historical impact of immigration, the values and processes that are shaping immigration policy and practices today, the effects of recent refugee resettlement, and current dilemmas in immigration policy development. Subsequent research will include an analysis of blacks' attitudes toward immigration, based on national opinion poll data and on a survey of black elected officials conducted by the Joint Center.

Political Studies

The center continues to be the preeminent source of reliable information on all aspects of black political participation.

The first project undertaken by the center in 1970 was a census of blacks holding elective office. The 12th annual census was recently completed, and the 1982 edition of the *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* is now available.

Using this data and other sources, the center recently constructed a composite profile of black elected officials, tracing changes from 1970 to 1980 in the personal characteristics of the officials and in the composition of their electoral jurisdictions. The center is now turning to an examination of the recent redistricting processes in states and localities where race was a factor and the effects of the redistricting on black political influence.

As the center has monitored black political participation throughout the past 12 years, one fact has remained constant: almost half of the eligible black population fails to vote. Three studies during the coming year will attempt to provide insights into this problem. Two of the studies look at black employment in municipal governments and at the patterns of distribution of public benefits, on the theory that participation is motivated not only by commitment to participatory democracy but also by the recognition that participation is what prompts the government to respond to citizens' needs. This theory is supported by the experience of virtually every major segment of society; the question is whether or not blacks have achieved identifiable economic benefits by their participation. The third study will directly examine the causes of non-voting among black Americans.

Historically, of course, the major causes of non-voting among blacks were the legal and quasi-legal restrictions on black participation. The Voting Rights Act, which, after a long battle, was renewed this past summer, has been the most effective tool in eliminating these restrictions. The center is now completing a case study of the 1982 VRA debate, which will examine all of the forces that led to its passage.

The center is also putting together a detailed set of essays on techniques used for reducing or nullifying the effects of the votes that minorities do cast. The collection, edited by Chandler Davidson, will examine "vote dilution" from legal, historical, and political perspectives. This definitive volume will be published in 1982.

These are some examples of work in progress;

(Continued on page 11)

Research Notes

JCPS Establishes Research Advisory Council and Adjunct Fellows Program

The Joint Center has established a Research Advisory Council and an Adjunct Fellows Program. Both groups will help strengthen the center's ties to other research institutions and other segments of the society.

The Research Advisory Council will monitor the general direction and character of the center's expanding research program. It will provide guidance and advice on a continuing basis and will recommend new areas for research.

The members of the Adjunct Fellows Program will be engaged on an *ad hoc* basis to participate in the Joint Center's research activities. They will conduct research on specific issues; serve as consultants in reviewing Joint Center studies; and participate in seminars, lectures, conferences, and other Joint Center programs as needed.

Members of the Research Advisory Council

T. M. Alexander, Jr. Vice-President of Public Finance, E. F. Hutton and Co.
Marcus Alexis. Chairman, Department of Economics, Northwestern University
Marguerite Ross Barnett. Director, Institute for Urban and Minority Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, and Professor of Political Science, Columbia University.
Mary Frances Berry. Commissioner, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Robert Curvin. Member of the Editorial Board, the *New York Times*
Drew Saunders Days III. Associate Professor of Law, Yale University Law School
Charles V. Hamilton. Professor of Government, Columbia University
Colbert I. King. Vice-President for the Middle East and Africa, Riggs National Bank
W. Duane Lockard. Professor of Politics, Princeton University
Glenn C. Loury. Professor of Economics and Afro-American Studies, Harvard University
Gloria D. Scott. Vice-President of Clark College, Atlanta University
Ernest Wilson. Assistant Professor of Political Science and of the Institute of Public Policy Studies, University of Michigan

Members of the Adjunct Fellows Program

Charles S. Bullock III. Professor of Political Science, University of Georgia
Joseph T. Darden. Professor of Geography and Urban Affairs Programs, Michigan State University
Peter Eisinger. Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, and Senior Research Staff Member, Institute for Research on Poverty
Robert A. Holmes. Professor of Political Science, Atlanta University
Gerald David Jaynes. Associate Professor of Economics and Afro-American Studies, Yale University
Joyce Ladner. Professor of Social Work, Howard University
Thomas Fraser Pettigrew. Professor of Social Psychology, Stevenson College, University of California
Diane Pinderhughes. Professor of Government, Dartmouth College

Milton D. Morris, JCPS Director of Research, Publishes Study of Illegal Immigration

"Several actions could be taken which, together, could bring about a substantial reduction in illegal immigration without seriously impairing relations with Mexico and other principal source countries," report Milton D. Morris and Albert Mayio in *Curbing Illegal Immigration,* a paper recently published by the Brookings Institution. Morris, currently director of research at the Joint Center, has been a senior fellow at Brookings.

Curbing Illegal Immigration examines the conditions that contribute to illegal immigration and steps that might be taken to reduce it. Unlike other reports on the subject, it focuses on the likely effects of curtailment on the countries that are the principal sources of illegal immigrants and on U.S. foreign policy interests.

Among the measures Morris and Mayio recommend to reduce the current level of illegal immigration are:

- developing a multiagency technical task force to improve the gathering and reporting of data on immigration and aliens.
- improving internal enforcement of immigration policies.
- closing off easy access to the U.S. labor market, through such means as sanctions on employers and universal identification cards.
- increasing the number of Western Hemisphere immigrants admitted; expanding the proportion of workers admitted without close relatives in the United States; and permitting admission of some temporary workers.
- expanding assistance to and cooperation with the principal source countries.

These measures, as elaborated in the study, will not immediately end illegal immigration but would reduce it substantially and correct many of the attendant problems that now exist.

Dr. Morris's full-scale study, *Immigration: A Continuing National Dilemma,* will be published by Brookings in 1983.

The 1982 edition of the *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* is available. To order, send $23.00 for each copy to the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20004. Orders for single copies must be paid in advance. JCPS will bill for two or more copies, but postage and handling charges will be added to orders that are not prepaid.

Telescope

Republicans and Democrats Reach Settlement in Voter Intimidation Lawsuit

As part of a settlement in a civil lawsuit, the Republican National Committee and the New Jersey Republican State Committee have agreed not to harass or intimidate black, Hispanic, and other voters anywhere in the United States.

The settlement was the result of a suit brought in federal court in New Jersey in December 1981 by the Democratic National Committee and the New Jersey Democratic State Committee. In the suit, the Democratic committees charged that, during the 1981 elections, the Republican committees planned and used a campaign of intimidating voters in predominantly black and Hispanic precincts in New Jersey.

According to the Democrats, the Republican committees set up a group called the National Ballot Security Task Force that used extralegal activities to deter qualified black and Hispanic voters from casting ballots during the 1981 federal and state elections in New Jersey (see *Focus,* December 1981 for details of the alleged intimidation campaign). Democrats contend that by frightening away these voters, the task force may have affected the outcome of the New Jersey gubernatorial election, in which Republican Thomas H. Kean defeated Democrat James J. Florio by a margin of fewer than 1,700 votes out of 2.3 million cast.

The settlement establishes no wrongdoing or liability on the part of the defendants, but it does include a ban on similar tactics anywhere in the country. The settlement was reached on November 1 but was sealed until the day after election day by agreement of both political parties.

Affirmative Action at the State Department

As reported in *Focus,* February 1982, affirmative action efforts at the Department of State have increased minority and female representation slowly but steadily in recent years. A new study shows that minorities now constitute 11.2 percent—up from 10.9 percent a year ago—and women, 16.7 percent—up from 15.8 percent—of all foreign service officers and career candidates. However, minorities and women are still underrepresented at senior levels in the department and abroad.

Congressional Black Caucus members Mervyn M. Dymally (D-CA) and George W. Crockett, Jr. (D-MI) have written letters to the secretary of state and made statements before House subcommittees (see *Focus,* August 1982) urging that qualifed black foreign service officers be appointed to ambassadorial and other policy-influencing positions. But no new appointments have been made. In fact, the recent resignation of Deputy Assistant Secretary for Equal Employment Opportunity, Vivian L. Derryck, further diminished black presence at the department's upper levels. Overseas, the number of black ambassadors dropped to six with the replacement of Horace G. Dawson as ambassador to Botswana.

Members of the Thursday Luncheon Group, an organization composed mainly of black employees of the foreign affairs agencies, have also expressed concern about the scarcity of blacks at the upper levels of the department. In a November 5 meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz, a TLG delegation asked that the secretary take steps to correct this imbalance.

The Department of State has made active efforts to increase the number of minorities and women in the foreign service. But attainment of a foreign service that is truly representative of American society requires much more than an active recruitment program. By continuing to underutilize qualified minorities and women, the State Department is depriving itself of important viewpoints in foreign policy formulation.

JCPS Appoints Deputy Director of Research

Edwin Dorn, previously special assistant to the president and senior research associate at the Joint Center, was appointed deputy director of research by the center in October. He assists the director of research, Dr. Milton Morris, with the overall planning and management of the research program. He will continue to head the center's research project on blacks and the military.

Before joining the center, Dr. Dorn served as director of executive operations in the Office of Elementary and Secondary Education of the U.S. Department of Education; as special assistant to the secretary of health, education and welfare; and, most recently, as executive director of PUSH-Excel in Washington, D.C.

NAACP Investigates BEOs Charged with Crimes

The NAACP is investigating legal actions against black elected officials, in the belief that a disproportionate number of black officials throughout the country are being charged with crimes. In many of these cases, says Samuel D. Wright, acting labor director of the NAACP Special Contribution Fund, "it appears that the charges brought are another attempt to prevent us from advancing in the elective arena." He has asked NAACP regional directors and field staff to notify his office of any lawsuits being brought against black elected officials.

Anyone who is aware of such cases should contact Mr. Wright at the NAACP Special Contribution Fund, 186 Remsen Street, Brooklyn Heights, NY 11201; (212) 858-0800.

JCPS in 1982

(Continued from page 9)

the list is by no means complete. The center has increased substantially its outreach to the public, through forums and conferences, wider distribution of its publications, and participation in research seminars conducted by other organizations. As important as providing information to its expanding audience is the input received from those seeking information and analyses from the center. The needs and interests of black elected officials and others concerned with the status of blacks in America will continue to be the primary force shaping the center's agenda.

A Tribute to Samuel C. Jackson

by Wendell Freeland

(Mr. Freeland is chairman of the Joint Center's Board of Governors, on which Mr. Jackson served as treasurer before his death on September 27.)

The last time I saw Sam Jackson, he was on the dais at a dinner at which the president of the United States was speaking.

It was not unusual for Sam to be in such a place at such a time. He had served presidents and his nation well. And his service was recognized, appreciated, and applauded.

On that last time I saw Sam, he was ravaged by a disease that defies science and faith. But Samuel C. Jackson was an advocate, a broker, and a counselor. He came to the dinner to remind us all of the importance of each of those roles.

He was an advocate.

For two decades—in his Kansas and in the nation's capital—he spoke out for the rights of black folks. He believed there was an America that could be better than it ever dreamed it could be. But he knew that to aim for such an America meant people like Sam Jackson would find little rest: their minds had to devise ways to change unjust laws, their voices had to convince the unwilling to accept the changes.

He was a broker.

For years in Washington—and, he might have told us, in the years before—he learned about the systems of power. Because he feared the powerlessness of his people, he threw the body of his learning across the gap between them and those in power. He brought the language he learned in the corridors of power to the unlettered. He introduced the have-nots to the haves. He tried mightily—and with some success—to bring black people and white people to the table of reason.

He was a counselor.

Sam knew that there were white people who remained in Washington at or near the level of power for decades regardless of party and irrespective of pronouncements of philosophy. He must have wondered why. In any event, he determined that he would be at or near the level of power as administrations came and went. He told young people what he had learned and he reminded older people of what they should have known. A black law student in Pittsburgh, who did not know Samuel C. Jackson, put it this way: "No matter what teams are playing, we ought to have somebody in the game."

Samuel C. Jackson was "in the game." Often, he was almost alone; but that was not his wish. He urged others, including me, to join him in his gentle forays across the moats of the District of Columbia.

He taught those who could afford to contribute to political parties and candidates to do so. With this in mind, he founded the Council of 100, a group of black Republicans who "paid their own way." They even bought tables for the dinners of the Congressional Black Caucus, most often considered an occasion for Democrats to politick.

At one of those dinners, with cabinet officers, subcabinet officers, and administrators bursting the seams of the great banquet hall, an observer said, "You know, when Sam was at HUD he did more for black folks and black institutions than all of these other cats combined."

The observer may have overstated the case—but not by much.

With the Joint Center for Political Studies, as with so many things, Samuel C. Jackson was there at the creation. He was with us at the end.

We shall miss him.

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